

20237
JPRS: 2575

18 May 1960

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OF THE 21st CONGRESS OF THE CPSU

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JPRS: 2576

CSO: 3836-N

Some Problems in Social Sciences in the Light of Decisions
of the 21st Congress of the CPSU

This is a translation of an article written by Yu.P. Frantsev in Vestnik Akademii Nauk SSSR (Herald of the Academy of Sciences USSR), No 7, 1959, pages 3-11.⁷

The strength of the Marxist-Leninist leadership of our Party, and the effectiveness of its strategy and tactics, have always consisted in the ability correctly to determine the main trend in social development and the essence of each concrete moment therein.

In the absence of a knowledge of the basic trends and objective laws of the development of society it is impossible to determine that concrete stage in which the social process is taking place. On the other hand, if one knows only the general trend of developing events and does not determine the concrete stage in this current of historical existence, it is impossible accurately to say how to act at the given historical moment -- what tactics to use, and what immediate goals can and must be posed.

The profound theoretical and practical significance of the decisions of the 21st Congress of the CPSU consist in the fact that they provided a clear definition of the main trend in our development toward communism and elucidated the essence, nature and tasks of the new period in the development of our country -- the period of the expanded building of a communist society. The elaboration of the problems of the transition to communism is an important contribution made by the congress to the depository of Marxism-Leninism.

N.S. Khrushchev's report to the congress explained the concept of the gradual transition to communism and showed the objective laws governing the inauguration of the new period in our communist building. The first phase of the new social system -- socialism -- developing in accordance with these laws, prepares the second phase -- communism. The conclusions of the congress enrich Marxist-Leninist theory and constitute a testimony to its triumph.

The scientific elaboration of the problems of the gradual transition to communism also constitute the refutation of the flat evolutionary, subjective, and voluntarist theories of bourgeois sociology.

It has now become quite obvious that as the historical process moves toward communism it accelerates rather than decelerates. What makes it possible to achieve this is a high level of development of productive capacities and production relations, a high degree of political organization of society, and vigorous participation by the popular masses. A tremendous role is played by Marxist-Leninist theory, which shows the possibilities for the progressive movement of society.

The decisions of the June Plenum of the CC CPSU in 1959, and N.S. Khrushchev's speech to the plenum, show once again that, guided by Marxist-Leninist theory and creatively developing it at each new stage in the great struggle for communism, our Party is confidently directing the efforts of the workers toward the most rapid creation of the material and technical base of a communist society, achieving a tremendous growth in productive capacities, the components of which -- technology and human beings who have mastered that technology -- are developing at an unprecedented rate. It is precisely for this reason that the organization work of the Party and the Soviet Government are now assuming such very great importance.

Experience shows that the inauguration of the new stage in the development of Soviet society has been prepared by the successes of recent years, by the great organizational work of the Communist Party, which has carried out bold transformations in recent years in the field of industry and agriculture, and has provided remarkable examples of creative Marxism. Among the levers used by the Party to accelerate the development of the national economy is the reorganization of the administration of industry and construction. The Party has elaborated and implemented revolutionary measures for the further development of agriculture, and has stimulated an upsurge in science and technology in our country which has stunned the entire world.

The theoretical maturity of Party cadres, and their correct understanding of the concrete requirements of practice, have facilitated the elaboration by the CC CPSU of a new and majestic plan for the development of the national economy. This theoretical maturity has made it possible for the Leninist Central Committee of the CPSU definitely to defeat in a very short time the anti-Party group of Malenkov, Kaganovich, Molotov, and Bulganin, which was carrying on a base struggle against the Party and its general line.

The theoretical development by the 21st Congress of the CPSU of the most important problems of Marxist-Leninist theory is the basis for developing work along the entire front of the social sciences. N.S. Khrushchev's report and the decisions of the 21st Congress of the CPSU make it possible to get a clear picture of the new assault position which must be taken by every Soviet collective and every worker in our country. Our social science must also take up its own assault position. In this connection the principle of the unity of theory and practice must serve as a guiding principle from which no deviations are to be tolerated.

Attention to the facts of social life and practice has been a typical feature of Marxism since its inception. Engels' book, "The Position of the Working Class in England," which came out in 1845 and constituted an important stage in the formation of Marxism, was subtitled "On the Basis of Personal Observations and Reliable Sources." In evaluating his own book, Engels wrote that the German Communists proceeded from theoretical premises. There was scarcely one of them who had not arrived at communism via Feuerbach's reinterpretation of Hegel's philosophy. Therefore, a study of the living conditions of the proletariat and a knowledge of the facts were of tremendous importance to them. (Cf. K. Marx and F. Engels', "Works." Vol 2, p 239.)

We must remember the passionate manner in which V.I. Lenin set about his study of life. He emphasized that "What we are concerned with, and have been for a long time, is not general principles but practical experience," and that "A 'specialist in science and technology' who knows his job, even if he is a bourgeois, is ten times more valuable than a swaggering Communist ready at any time of the day or night to write 'theses', to come up with 'slogans,' and to offer barren abstractions." Lenin added: "Let's have a little more knowledge of the facts, and a little less of disputes which pretend to communist integrity." (V.I. Lenin, Works." Vol 32, p 121.)

In the socialist society, theory is directly tied in with practice -- with the practical activity of the masses, merging with the practice of communist building. N.S. Khrushchev has emphasized: "There is not one laborer of the socialist society in any working area, however small, who -- if he is working honestly -- is not doing a useful job for all of society and, by his practical activity, is confirming and developing the theory of Marxism-Leninism. That is why we say that the further development of theoretical social thought today is not the work of individual theoreticians of a small group of people sitting in their offices and developing theory. No, today the entire people is participating in

this great task because the shortening of the transition path from socialism to communism depends upon their labor -- upon their efforts. And this is the important thing. It is life itself -- the activity of the communist and worker's parties; the practical activity of the people in building socialism and communism -- which confirms the theoretical principles of Marxism-Leninism and gives birth to new trends in the development of these theoretical principles." (N.S. Khrushchev. "Toward Victory in Peaceful Competition with Capitalism." Gospolitizdat State Publishing House of Political Literature, M, 1959, p 360.)

It is this principle which we must take as our point of departure in determining the tasks of the social sciences in the socialist society. Today, when the masses are creating theory, conforming it in their daily lives, and participating in the development of theoretical thought, social science must carefully study this practice of the masses, and merge directly with the great activity of the people engaged in building communism. Ever more frequently, now, kolkhoz representatives read papers at scientific conferences, economists hold meetings with practical workers in oblasts and rayons, making on-the-spot studies of important problems of labor organization and wages, costs, etc.

In this period of the expanded building of a communist society, special importance attaches to scientific work done on the basis of abundant concrete data -- studies combining the most concrete analysis of the practice of social development with its theoretical generalization. If the place of the technical and natural sciences is nearer to production, to the plant, to the kolkhoz, the same requirement applies fully to the social sciences. Certain detailed concrete studies have been instituted, for example, by the institutes of Philosophy, Economics, Law, and Ethnography, and other humanities and institutions of the Academy of Sciences USSR.

It is very important to work out a method for concrete studies of life -- to provide them with a profoundly scientific character -- so that the studies produced by scientists will not turn out to be simple empirical material or premature empirical generalizations, but will have theoretical importance and will help to solve basic and important problems.

Let us consider, for example, the results of the all-union census -- factual data on a tremendous scale representing great scientific value. Actually, the study of these data can serve as the basis for a great, comprehensive research project for social scientists in various specialties. Life is imposing ever greater requirements for the organization

of just such comprehensive projects on the part of social scientists, pooling the efforts of economists, philosophers, and historians of Soviet society. It is essential widely to develop this kind of team research, ensuring the collaboration (for example) of economists and specialists in the field of technology. Philosophers should also take part in these projects, working on problems of social relations and the structure of the socialist society. It is extremely important to achieve the correct organization and coordination of such projects. We know that in the natural sciences, important discoveries have been made precisely in the borderline branches of knowledge. In the field of the social sciences such borderline branches have so far been very little studied.

Hence the great significance being assumed by problems of organizing scientific work. In the field of the social sciences there is still a great deal of primitive procedure, individualism, a dissipation of funds and resources, inadequate attention is being devoted to team projects carried out in accordance with a clearly elaborated plan and directed toward the solution of definite problems. The research plans of many humanities institutions resemble scholarly publishing plans. They are lists of books, showing the time of their preparation and publishing. Frequently these plans do not show how a problem is to be studied, what research will be employed in seeking its solution, or what methods will be used. The scientific base of the humanities institutions consists chiefly of libraries. This base is acceptable when new books are written on the basis of existing books. But today the institutes must accumulate various kinds of material characterizing phenomena of life which have not yet been described in books.

The accomplishment of our huge tasks must be facilitated by a planned change in the organizational structure of scientific institutions working in the field of the social sciences. The basic scientific cells must become, not immobile and stabilized sectors and sections, but mobile creative groups of scientists pooling their efforts to solve definite problems at prescribed times.

The tasks of the social sciences were clearly defined by the 21st Congress of the CPSU.

The resolution of the congress states: "The social sciences -- and especially the science of economics -- are faced with the problem of creatively generalizing the experience of economic and cultural building and studying the new problems posed by life. It is essential thoroughly to study the laws governing the transition to communism. comprehensively to analyze the most important processes taking

place in the capitalist world, to expose the bourgeois ideology, and to struggle for the purity of Marxist-Leninist theory." ("Resolution of the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on Comrade N.S. Khrushchev's Report, 'On the Control Figures for the Development of the National Economy of the USSR for 1958-1965.' " Gospolitizdat, M, 1959, p 25.)

The recent General Meeting of the Academy of Sciences USSR considered the tasks of the academy in the light of the resolutions of the 21st Congress of the CPSU and laid down measures reflecting the aspiration of Soviet scientists more rapidly and better to realize these historic resolutions. The problems of our social science formulated by the General Meeting include the study of the development of productive capacities, production relations, political organization, and culture during the period of the transition to communism. It was pointed out at the meeting that it is essential to concentrate attention, resources, and funds on the priority study of such basic problems as socialist expanded reproduction, the means of solving the basic economic task, problems of Marxist-Leninist philosophy under the concrete conditions of building a communist society, and problems of the development of the Soviet state and law during the new stage in our building.

The Academy of Sciences USSR has assumed the responsibility of elaborating the scientific foundations for the long-range planning of the socialist economy, making technico-economic studies of the sources and means of increasing the productivity of social labor, mechanization and automation of production, studying problems of the economic effectiveness of capital outlays on new equipment, and the development of production-economic relations and the distribution of socialist production. Work in the field of economic science must facilitate the discovery of reserves for fulfilling and overfulfilling the seven-year national economic plan. It was pointed out at the meeting that economic institutes must maintain close contact with Gosplan USSR and other economic planning organs, actively participate in the elaboration and analysis of national economic plans, and provide scientific recommendations for solving the practical problems of economic building.

In order to make the transition to a communist society, and in order that the processes already initiated in the first phase of the development of our society should become predominant, it is necessary first of all further to develop productive capacities, and an abundance of products produced by society. This can be achieved on the basis of technical progress, and the comprehensive mechanization and automation

of production processes. The resolutions of the June Plenum of the CC CPSU state: "The Mechanization and automation of production possess not only an economic significance but a tremendous social significance. In a socialist society, the comprehensive mechanization and automation of production process corresponds to the vital interests of the workers, lighten and radically change the character of the labor of millions of people, raise their productivity, and create the conditions for reducing the length of the working day and for eliminating the existing differences between mental and physical labor." (Pravda, 30 June 1959.) This likewise determines the first task of the social scientists: profoundly and comprehensively to study the processes of the growth of the productive capacities of Soviet society, and the effect of technical progress on all aspects of social life during the period of the transition from socialism to communism, and to render aid to the development of productive capacities.

The tasks of the social scientists also include the analysis of the process of improving production relations in our society. It is essential to make further studies of deep processes taking place in the socialist economy, like those elucidated in N.S. Khrushchev's report. These processes show how the level of socialization of kolkhoz production is continuing to increase and will increase even further; how the approximation of kolkhoz-cooperative property to socialized property will be effected, gradually eliminating the dividing line between them. State property will also be further expanded during the transition to communism -- something which will be facilitated tremendously by improvement in the forms of administering industry. The facts testify to an improvement in socialist production relations taking place in our day -- a process moving in the direction of raising the level of socialization. The laws governing this process must be studied by the combined efforts of economists, philosophers, and historians of Soviet society.

The method of distributing the material and spiritual values produced by society among all members of that society is an important aspect of production relations. The 21st Congress of the CPSU laid heavy emphasis on this matter. In his report N.S. Khrushchev explained the significance of the socialist principle of distribution according to labor during the period of expanded building of a communist society. At the same time he pointed that moral incentives to labor for the good of society were already acquiring increasingly greater significance during the first phase of that period. Distribution according to labor plays a great educational role, preparing that attitude toward labor which will finally triumph under communism. The report also stated that already

an increasing greater share of material and cultural values is being distributed among members of society without regard to their labor; viz., gratis. It is evident that the Soviet social scientists, if they want to keep step with life, have a duty to study these very important processes. The problems of the building of a communist society must be studied not only by economists but also by philosophers and jurists.

The problem of the political organization of society in the period of the transition to communism is of extremely pressing theoretical and practical importance. Without a socialist state it is impossible to build communism, to create its material and technical base, to achieve the further development of socialized property. Problems of the development of the Soviet state and law constitute an important area of research for our social scientists, jurists, and philosophers.

The revisionists entertain a caricature-like notion of the development of socialist society as a process which little by little paralyzes all levers of state administration; one which -- in the words used by Plekhanov apropos the metaphysicians -- assumes the gradual "diminution" of the state "continuing until the phenomenon becomes completely inconspicuous by virtue of its microscopic proportions." (G.V. Plekhanov, "Selected Philosophical Works." Vol 1, 1956, p 569.) This "quantitative," anarchistic Proudhonian viewpoint has nothing in common with Marxism. A maximal expansion of socialist statism is proper to the period of society's transition to communism.

As was emphasized in the resolutions of the 21st Congress of the CPSU, during the period of transition to communism an ever larger role will be played by the Communist Party, which pools the efforts of all collectives and members of our society, stimulates their initiative and creativity, directs these efforts toward a single, great goal, and carries on work for the ideological indoctrination of Soviet citizens.

The Communist Party is a subjective factor of tremendous effectiveness without which no progressive social changes can be effected. The study of this factor and its role and growing significance is one of the most important tasks of our social science, which studies the laws governing the transition to communism and functions as a propagandist for the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. Soviet social scientists must imbue the masses with a profound understanding of Party policy during the period of the expanded building of a communist society, and help to inculcate in Soviet citizens the ability to implement the Leninist general line of the Party each concrete phase of their life and work.

Ideological work has always been accorded a leading place in the many-faceted activity of the Party. This work is directed toward indoctrinating Soviet citizens in a spirit of collectivism and love of labor, socialist internationalism and patriotism, and the high moral principles of the new society.

A broad field of activity is opened up before Soviet scientists in this connection. Let us consider, for example, the problem of morality. Marxism-Leninism set forth, for the first time in history, a uniquely scientific and genuine criterion for morality, thereby causing a revolution in the moral development of man. However, we possess very few studies, or even popular works, on problems of morality, but during the transition to communism, special importance, attaches (for example) to an analysis of the role of moral incentives for labor, and ascertaining the relationship between moral incentives and the material interest of the laborer. Public opinion is a great inculcator of such incentives. What levers does society have at its disposal, during the period of the transition to communism, for moral influence and action on the individual -- for his indoctrination? What is the relationship between morality and law in the period of the transition to communism? Such problems are not merely theoretical in nature. They are also problems of our practical ideological and indoctrination work.

We also possess very few scientific studies criticizing the role of religious ideology and morality. It is no longer feasible to combat religious vestiges with the methods used 20 or 30 years ago. Religious notions have changed considerably. In many cases they have begun to assume the more diffuse form of quasi-pantheistic and quasi-deistic concepts. The struggle against these ideas is necessarily of a different kind than it was, for example, during the civil war period, when the ideological and social personality of the believer was different. The large collective work now being elaborated at the Academy of Sciences USSR, "Science against Religion." should fill the lacuna in our scientific literature in this area.

There is also a need for general works devoted to a critique of bourgeois individualism in its various manifestations. In large part, this subject is treated only incidentally in our books and articles, in the course of analyzing various bourgeois schools of philosophy, although it is one of the basic problems of criticizing the bourgeois world-view.

The General Meeting of the Academy of Sciences USSR noted the necessity for emphasizing the development of the activity of seminars in the area of the philosophical generalization of the contemporary achievements of science. The development of the natural sciences poses several serious problems of a philosophical nature. Today a correct understanding of the connection between philosophy and the concrete natural sciences is extremely important.

The very important discoveries in the natural sciences and the technical sciences show that the path of the progressive development of modern science can be understood, -- and all forms of fideism, of the reactionary world-view blocking this development can be combatted, -- only from a viewpoint of dialectical materialism. In the socialist society possibilities have been created for cooperation and unity among the sciences dealing with nature, technology, and society. The social aspect of technology and the social significance of investigations of nature serve as the basis for bringing the sciences closer together -- for their common, joint work in the name of a bright future.

Soviet historians have an important role to play in communist indoctrination. Among the most pressing problems of the historians are a study of the history of the building of socialism and communism in the USSR; the history of socialist building in the people's democracies; a study of the revolutionary traditions of the peoples of the USSR; the history of the international worker's movement; and the history of the national-liberation struggle of the peoples against colonialism. There is no doubt that bringing the work of our historians closer to life will stimulate the development of historical knowledge. It must be remembered that Karl Marx's own historical writings, studied by generations of Marxist historians, were written hot on the traces of events, without waiting for the sources to be covered with the dust of archives. Great importance attaches to the creation of a scientific history of the Soviet society, the working class, and the peasantry, the building of Soviet culture, and research on other problems of the development of socialist social formations.

The bourgeois ideologues are now exerting their intellects in attacks on historicity. They affirm that the historical process is merely a chain of subjective ideas on the part of the historian, and that there are no objective laws of social development leading mankind to communism. In their opinion, history is a conglomeration of various "civilizations" and "cultures" which cannot be taught to anybody. In the communist world-view, however, historicity is accorded an important place. The scientific theory of the historical process

and a knowledge of the past are directly related, in Marxist-Leninist science, to a correct understanding of the prospects for the future.

The research of Soviet literary specialists must be directly related to problems of communist indoctrination and cultural building. The former are faced with the task of making a profound analysis of the problems of the development of the literature of Socialist Realism, and its connection with the classical literary heritage. In his speech to the Third Congress of Writers of the USSR, N.S. Khrushchev posed problems whose comprehensive treatment will facilitate the creation of that "abundance of spiritual values proper to communism."

The 21st Congress of the CPSU drew some very important conclusions relative to the international conditions of the development of the Soviet Union at the new stage of communist building. These international conditions were elucidated in N.S. Khrushchev's book, "Toward Victory in Peaceful Competition with Capitalism." One of the most important theoretical conclusions is that in the USSR, socialism has won a definite victory. The Soviet Union has become a mighty socialist power. Its material, political, and moral resources are enormous. The capitalist world does not possess forces capable of destroying the socialist system in our country. The time has now come in international development when all possibilities are available for the victory of peaceful coexistence. Naturally, the Soviet Union is not guaranteed against possible aggression on the part of the imperialist powers. But no attempts to attack the USSR can end in success for the aggressors. This represents an important result of our development and an essential feature of the contemporary stage of world history. Here is a wide field for research by social scientists.

We now possess all possibilities for solving in the next few years the basic economic task of the USSR; to overtake and surpass the most highly developed capitalist country -- The United States -- as regards per capita production. The USSR will become the world's leading industrial power; the People's Republic of China will become a mighty industrial power; and by 1965, all of the socialist countries together will produce more than one-half of the world industrial product, which will make new and very important changes in the international situation.

As a result of the implementation of the economic plans of the Soviet Union and all the socialist countries of Europe and Asia, very real possibilities will be created for eliminating war as a means of solving international problems. Thus,

as was stated in N.S. Khrushchev's report, pending the complete victory of socialism on earth, while capitalism is still retained in part of the world, there arises a real possibility for eliminating war from social life. Socialism acts as the guarantor of the peaceful, progressive development of human society -- of the entire population of the earth. An analysis of these processes in the international situation is a very important task of economists, specialists in international law, and philosophers.

Prime importance attaches to the resolutions taken at the 21st Congress of the CPSU relative to the development and strengthening of relations of friendship and brotherly mutual assistance among the countries of socialism during the new stage of history. The tremendous increase in the economic might of the Soviet Union provided for in the seven-year plan is being effected at a time when the international socialist division of labor, characterized by the coordination of the plans of the socialist countries and the specialization and cooperation of individual branches of their national economies, has entered a new phase in its development. The new phase in the collaboration among the countries of socialism will be extremely important for uncovering all possibilities of the socialism production method both within the limits of the world system of socialism and within the limits of each socialist country. On the basis of an analysis of the action of the law planned development in the countries of the socialist world system, in his report to the 21st Congress of the CPSU N.S. Khrushchev drew a very important conclusion as to the laws governing the development of the entire socialist during the contemporary period -- a conclusion as to the more or less simultaneous transition of the socialist countries to the higher phase of a communist society. This conclusion will stimulate searching, creative Marxist thought in all countries of the socialist camp. Social science is faced with huge problems with respect to a comprehensive study of the results and prospects of the development of the world system of socialism. This new field of research has a great future.

Fraternal relations and friendship among all units of the world communist movement are acquiring increasing importance at the present stage of world history. The idea of the unity of the correctly understood national and international tasks of the working class -- one of the most important ideas of Marxism-Leninism, which was further expanded in N.S. Khrushchev's report and in the resolutions of the 21st Congress -- is of basic importance in this connection.

The successful erection of the majestic building of communism, whose contours are coming ever more clearly visible and distinct in our day, is dealing a very heavy blow to bourgeois ideology, revisionism, and reformism.

Already, at the beginning of the new stage of the ideological struggle, the bourgeois theoreticians are compelled to acknowledge that the fact of the USSR's entering into the period of expanded building of a communist society is of tremendous significance to the countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Western Europe. The stage of the expanded building of communism in our country is playing an historical role in the cause of winning the workers over to ideas of communism in the most highly developed capitalist countries; for example, the United States, and Britain. In creating the world's highest living standard for the workers and the world's shortest working day, we shall definitively bury bourgeois propaganda against communism. It is not without reason that the capitalist press is howling about the assault on the last stronghold of capitalism, by which they mean the living standard in the most highly developed capitalist countries. Along with the assault on this last stronghold of capitalism, the positions of scientific communism are being strengthened throughout the world.

The building of communism in our country will have an ever greater effect on all contemporary social development, as a fact of historical reality. The theoretical principles of Marxism-Leninism formulated by the 21st Congress and implemented by the creative labor of millions, will acquire ever greater force.

The new stage in the ideological struggle into which we have entered will be distinguished by the further strengthening of the ideological unity of the entire world communist movement, the unity of the world system of socialism. The Marxism-Leninist science of society will play an important and honorable role in this new stage.

END

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